

OCTOBER 27, 1965

THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE



By BEN N. BARDONIAN

BEN M. BADDIKIAN is a veteran Washington reporter, now with *The Saturday Evening Post*.

Public knowledge about the CIA is a blend of rumor, third-hand infor-

Representative John V. Lindsay of New York, one of the Congressmen proposing a legislative watchdog committee over CIA, said in a speech recently that the agency failed to predict the entry of Red China into the Korean War, that in 1960 a CIA agent told President Nasser to ignore a State Department message that the Egyptian leader was about to receive, that the CIA was deeply involved in the East Berlin, Poznan and Hungarian rebellions in the 1950's; that it was instrumental in overthrowing the Mosaddegh regime in Iran in 1953 and the Arbenz regime in Guatemala in 1954.

of the (Continued on Page 108)

By MARILYN CLEVELAND

HARLAN CLEVELAND has, over the years, worked for various Federal agencies in Washington. He is now Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs.

Nonsense. A drone
large enter. (Continue)

By EDWARD SOMMER

When the peasant gets angry, he lets everyone know about it. All during the summer, French newspapers carried stories of

Declassified

But de Gaulle's action was only a temporary help. The problems of the French farmers are deep-seated, lying in the very nature of the country's agricultural system. France is a nation of small farmers. Over 21 per cent of the population still makes its

EVERYONE in France suffers from the farm situation. While the French Government is concerned, its methods of handling the problems have done little really to correct it. Its main drive has been to protect the French peasants from foreign competition—the mass political weight of the peasants is powerful. Nevertheless, Paris, unlike Washington, runs no soil banks that pay farmers not to farm; neither does it in-



sified and App
party has been committed for
30 years since the time of
Senator Arthur Vandenberg.
Senator Goldwater does not
favor abolition of the grade-

Atlanta -- to start registering some 25,000 new Negro voters in the rest of the South every month. If the tempo of the

(Continued on Following Page)

**Cordials by Coinstream
50 to 99 proof**

the prenomination debate a recurring notion that it would be a good thing if the candidacy of a conservative at least produced a fundamental realignment of

OCTOBER 22, 1961

(Continued from Page 19)

American public knows little about the C.I.A., foreign intelligence agencies have a lot with unending scrutiny. During the Korean war an important but officially anonymous C.I.A. operative, whom we will call Scattergood, was walking by the door of the Church Mission in Washington when the gunman bowed and said gravely, "Good morning, Dr. Scattergood."

It is a truism that 80 per cent of intelligence is pure guesswork. The analysis of conventional documents is the best argument to provide the basic picture illuminated by shafts of low orthodox light sent into the dark by secret agents. Most of this work is a boring battle of routine words and numbers. But upon it depends the reliability of the world-wide intelligence report the C.I.A. sends the President every morning and its estimates of national power and intentions at critical moments.

THE present controversy, though, is not concerned as much with either the secret agents or the war specialists handling foreign budget reports. It is over the mere or secret C.I.A. men abroad who work out of American embassies. At the middle ranks of American diplomats, the political-officer level, about half the men in an embassy may be C.I.A. employees. If there are guerrilla or other paramilitary operations, several hundred of the experts may be from C.I.A.

Current CIA employees have a common complaint about U.S. reporters abroad: They won't pay for service men, women and children. "I know they have money to spend, but they have no incentive to do so," says a CIA spokesman. The CIA spokesman says that the agency is in such hot through personal friendships that make it so difficult to get information. He says that the agency is in such hot through personal friendships that make it so difficult to get information. He says that the agency is in such hot through personal friendships that make it so difficult to get information.

DOES the C.I.A. make policy? Allen Dulles in his new book, "The Craft of Intelligence," calls this the most harmful myth about C.I.A. Yet much may hinge on what is meant by "policy." The C.I.A. certainly does not set national goals or make foreign policy. But such goals and

policy are usually general and their implementation is left unspecified, permitting vast discretion as to how best to achieve national goals. The head of C.I.A. sits in the small and crucial Executive Committee of the National Security Council; the President has many advisers but few get a respectful attention as he

In the field C.I.A. men are nominally, but not necessarily, in precisely, under orders of the U.S. Ambassador. They may derive which comes to them by a long, winding path, from the President, through the State Department, through the various agencies, to the Ambassador. A high State Department official wanted a few thousand dollars to back an important union in Ceylon and was told that the money was being taken over by Marist.

The source of money for the C.I.A. demurred. Thus Marist does not make policy in any formal way but it is a major influence in the shaping of national behavior abroad.

Supporters of CIA think the agency is the only way to keep the United States from being a bystander in the unraveling of the Soviet empire. They feel, rather, that it is more accurate to say that it has expanded into areas controlled by any other American agency. The post-war world was a global system of alliances to the United States. The world was filled with deadly serious intrigue and manipulation in which foreign nations were no longer stable. They changed with the by-word "move and make time" written across the time-space continuum. The global system was in the United States' hands. The United States intervention always a neatly wrapped in American diplomatic history even when it was not. It became a major part of international relations.

The State Department ordered this unpleasant new

world as a serious disadvantage. Its tradition, more than that of most powerful foreign offices, was genuinely in favor of open and correct foreign relations. As the official delegation to regimes in power, it had to show extreme delicacy in making contact with opposition groups. And it confronted the post-war diplomatic revolution during one of the saddest periods in its history.

At precisely this time the State Department was reeling under a series of shattering blows. Under President Truman's Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, it was attacked by Republicans and other critics, and Acheson was held up as an example of a striped-pants, pussy-footing, rookie-pushing diplomat afflitter before the cynical toughs of Communism. This was, particularly for Acheson, ridiculous criticism. But charges became political issues with a national cry to "clean out" the State Department.

AFTER Eisenhower's victory, Acheson was succeeded by John Foster Dulles. He made no secret of his dislike of most of the State Department career apparatus. This was the era of "massive retaliation." There was a feeling that with the Strategic Air Command a State Department was unnecessary. The crowning catastrophe was the emergence of Winemore, Senator McCarthy whose attacks on the department sent its prestige in Congress plummeting, demoralized its workers and damaged its influence abroad.

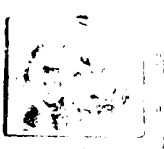
It was during this period that the C.I.A. was born and hired its first 10,000 employees. The shift of power and function was caused by the fact that after 1953 Allen Dulles served as head of C.I.A. - while



"SUPERSPYIES"—Under its last two chiefs, General Walter Bedell Smith (left) and Allen W. Dulles, the C.I.A. attained great power.

THE NEW YORK TIMES & AGAIN

PORTRAIT IN OILS



THE PERFECT GIFT
Magnificently paired on
canvas from old or new
photos. \$100.00

Iron's Shack

(Continued From Page 23)
former landlords are to be paid in 10 annual installments—a price based on former tax assessments, the taxes actually collected and the income derived from the peasants. The farmers themselves are to repay the Government over a 15-year period.

So far, officially, the lands surrounding 8,000 villages, with a tax value of \$46,000,000, have been purchased from former landlords, and those of 6,000 villages have been distributed to 230,000 peasant families, representing a population of 1,200,000. But Iran

-RDP01-0177

ENFRANCHISED—Women gather to give thanks to the Shah after being granted the
 quences could be disastrous to . . . The Shah considers him a . . . It is
 8B000100130043-3 reform that th

considers him a reform. It is that the

1
 2
 3
 4
 5
 6
 7
 8
 9
 10
 11
 12
 13
 14
 15
 16
 17
 18
 19
 20
 21
 22
 23
 24
 25
 26
 27
 28
 29
 30
 31
 32
 33
 34
 35
 36
 37
 38
 39
 40
 41
 42
 43
 44
 45
 46
 47
 48
 49
 50
 51
 52
 53
 54
 55
 56
 57
 58
 59
 60
 61
 62
 63
 64
 65
 66
 67
 68
 69
 70
 71
 72
 73
 74
 75
 76
 77
 78
 79
 80
 81
 82
 83
 84
 85
 86
 87
 88
 89
 90
 91
 92
 93
 94
 95
 96
 97
 98
 99
 100
 101
 102
 103
 104
 105
 106
 107
 108
 109
 110
 111
 112
 113
 114
 115
 116
 117
 118
 119
 120
 121
 122
 123
 124
 125
 126
 127
 128
 129
 130
 131
 132
 133
 134
 135
 136
 137
 138
 139
 140
 141
 142
 143
 144
 145
 146
 147
 148
 149
 150
 151
 152
 153
 154
 155
 156
 157
 158
 159
 160
 161
 162
 163
 164
 165
 166
 167
 168
 169
 170
 171
 172
 173
 174
 175
 176
 177
 178
 179
 180
 181
 182
 183
 184
 185
 186
 187
 188
 189
 190
 191
 192
 193
 194
 195
 196
 197
 198
 199
 200
 201
 202
 203
 204
 205
 206
 207
 208
 209
 210
 211
 212
 213
 214
 215
 216
 217
 218
 219
 220
 221
 222
 223
 224
 225
 226
 227
 228
 229
 230
 231
 232
 233
 234
 235
 236
 237
 238
 239
 240
 241
 242
 243
 244
 245
 246
 247
 248
 249
 250
 251
 252
 253
 254
 255
 256
 257
 258
 259
 260
 261
 262
 263
 264
 265
 266
 267
 268
 269
 270
 271
 272
 273
 274
 275
 276
 277
 278
 279
 280
 281
 282
 283
 284
 285
 286
 287
 288
 289
 290
 291
 292
 293
 294
 295
 296
 297
 298
 299
 300
 301
 302
 303
 304
 305
 306
 307
 308
 309
 310
 311
 312
 313
 314
 315
 316
 317
 318
 319
 320
 321
 322
 323
 324
 325
 326
 327
 328
 329
 330
 331
 332
 333
 334
 335
 336
 337
 338
 339
 340
 341
 342
 343
 344
 345
 346
 347
 348
 349
 350
 351
 352
 353
 354
 355
 356
 357
 358
 359
 360
 361
 362
 363
 364
 365
 366
 367
 368
 369
 370
 371
 372
 373
 374
 375
 376
 377
 378
 379
 380
 381
 382
 383
 384
 385
 386
 387
 388
 389
 390
 391
 392
 393
 394
 395
 396
 397
 398
 399
 400
 401
 402
 403
 404
 405
 406
 407
 408
 409
 410
 411
 412
 413
 414
 415
 416
 417
 418
 419
 420
 421
 422
 423
 424
 425
 426
 427
 428
 429
 430
 431
 432
 433
 434
 435
 436
 437
 438
 439
 440
 441
 442
 443
 444
 445
 446
 447
 448
 449
 450
 451
 452
 453
 454
 455
 456
 457
 458
 459
 460
 461
 462
 463
 464
 465
 466
 467
 468
 469
 470
 471
 472
 473
 474
 475
 476
 477
 478
 479
 480
 481
 482
 483
 484
 485
 486
 487
 488
 489
 490
 491
 492
 493
 494
 495
 496
 497
 498
 499
 500
 501
 502
 503
 504
 505
 506
 507
 508
 509
 510
 511
 512
 513
 514
 515
 516
 517
 518
 519
 520
 521
 522
 523
 524
 525